UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes Francis Neilson

Casting Out Fear

By ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY

Why Are the Chinese Indignant?

By GILBERT REID

War and the Medical Profession

By LYDIA G. WENTWORTH

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVI MONDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1925 NUMBER 4

A HYMN OF TRUST*

O God, whose law from age to age
No chance or change can know,
Whose love forevermore abides,
While aeons come and go,
From out the strife of earthly life
To thine embrace we flee,
And 'mid our crowding doubts and fears
We put our trust in thee.

The winds, thy faithful messengers,
Are guided by thy hand;
Thy ministers, the flames of fire,
Obey thy stern command;
The seas resound within the bound
Where thy dominion reigns,
And wheeling planets seek the paths
Thy mighty will ordains.

Thy holy purpose moves before
The nations on their way,
And leads the stumbling hosts of men
From darkness into day.
The captain's sword and prophet's word
Alike thy justice prove;
Each clime and kindred manifest
Thy Providence of love.

Dear Father, we would learn to trust
The doing of thy will,
And in thy perfect law of love
Our doubts and fears would still.
Help us to know, in joy and woe,
Thy ways are always best,
And we, thy children evermore,
By thy great goodness blest.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

* Voted by hymnologists, in a symposium in the *Western Christian Advocate*, one of "the ten best hymns of the twentieth century."

We said some sharp things in the September 21st issue of UNITY *à propos* the charge of Col. William Mitchell that government executives are officially dishonest—that bureaucrats in Washington "either distort facts or openly tell falsehoods." Among other things we said that "we wouldn't believe a secretary of state . . . on oath." While we were writing these very words, Secretary Kellogg was preparing the latest piece of evidence to substantiate our scepticism. This was the statement later issued to explain the reasons for excluding the English Communist, Saklatvala, from these shores. In this statement Mr. Kellogg, or whatever underling does his dirty work for him, set down certain utterances by Saklatvala to prove that he was a dangerous revolutionist. The New York *Nation* had the wisdom to check up these quotations, and found of course that they were sentences deliberately torn from their context and thus made to mean what they didn't and could not mean when they were originally spoken. What Mr. Kellogg "apparently" did, says the *Nation*, was "to deceive the American public." The *Nation* calls this act an "indecency"—a mild word, it seems to us, to describe such a disreputable performance. In saying this, we voice not a particle of feeling against Mr. Kellogg personally. He is following a tradition as ancient as government, and in no wise changed when monarchy was made to yield to democracy. The pity of it is that the people do not know this tradition and make allowance for it—that they do not realize, to quote Col. Mitchell's words again, that governments act "to perpetuate their own existence, largely irrespective of the public welfare." Meanwhile propaganda, deceptions, lies go right on doing their effective work, with the resulting injustice and oppression that are such a commonplace. Some day the revelation will come. Then what!

Raymond Poincaré has a bad conscience! Or rather, since it is fantastic to speak of a conscience in the case of such a man, he is showing that the cold steel shaft of investigation of the causes of the Great War is getting under his skin. At any rate in the October issue of *Foreign Affairs*, he rushes once more to the defense of France, and presents her all over again as the innocent and outraged heroine in the 1914 drama, of which Germany and Austria are the heavy villains. Much is being made of this article, of course. The newspapers, eager to prove that they were themselves not deluded, are giving it large space and much favorable editorial comment. But it is all a perfect case of a snake wiggling its tail the more furiously as its head is crushed the more certainly. M. Poincaré, for all his feverish eloquence, has absolutely nothing new to say. His article is only a magazine rehash of what he said much better and more at length in his book. He has no answers for the new indictments of France based on the new disclosures of the last two years. There *are* no answers, of course, so he simply ignores the indictments, and resorts to the old "gag" of abusing the other fellow, in this case Germany. M. Poincaré is just plain ridiculous when he declares that "up to the

month of August, 1914, France in every situation gave proof of the sincerity and permanence of her pacific intentions." The temptation is to accuse the Frenchman of lying when he advances this statement as the main thesis of his argument; but a man lies only when he expects his lies to be believed, and M. Poincaré is no such fool as this. So he is not a liar, but just a clown. His antics become something more than an inane joke, however, when he says "that the combined propaganda of Germany and the Soviets has sown confusion in the minds even of well-meaning men of high standing," such as Frederick Bausman, Harry Elmer Barnes, Sidney B. Fay, Senator Owen, all of whom he names. "The Soviets" are pretty old stuff, even for Poincaré; but the suggestion that men like Judge Bausman and Professor Fay are unwitting victims of Bolshevik propaganda is worth the price of admission. We hope this issue of *Foreign Affairs* will have a wide circulation.

How many of us know that wild horses are making their appearance in this country? How many of us realize that packs of wolves are reappearing in areas that have not known them for generations? These facts seem incredible, don't they, but they happen to be true. Slowly, so slowly that we do not realize it as yet, the wilderness is returning in America. We think we have conquered it, but as a matter of fact the wilderness is never conquered. The breach in our line of defense, of course, is the abandoned farm, the break-down of rural life in the vast agricultural sections of the nation. We ourselves have seen this phenomenon in New England, where deserted farms are so common that they constitute a feature of the landscape as typical as forest clearings were typical two centuries ago. We have seen whole countrysides, all under cultivation a few generations ago, which are now as devoid of inhabitants as they were before the coming of the first settlers. Similar conditions, we are told by those who know, can be found in New Jersey and upper New York, and of course through great areas of the middle and far west. For years, now, our agricultural life has been declining. The resident farm owner gave way to the tenant farmer; then the tenant farmer began deserting, and thus leaving his acres to revert to original wilderness conditions. Those abandoning the country, of course, have gone to the cities, with the result that the last census marked the turning of the balances, with more than half the population of the republic off the land and in the factories and shops. Iowa, for long one of our prize agricultural states, now has a larger industrial population, proportionately, than France. The wheat crop of 1925 is today estimated at 200 million bushels *less* than that of 1924. Meanwhile, the plight of the farmer gets ever worse, the number of abandoned farms steadily increases, and the wilderness slowly creeps back to its old domain. If there is anything more serious in America than the agricultural situation, we do not know what it is.

What the decline of country life means for the cities is seen most obviously in the ever mounting cost of living. Other factors have entered into this problem, of course, especially since 1914, but at bottom lies the ever growing disproportion between country and city population. The latter is inevitably supported by the former, and as support goes down, cost goes up. This is only the first phase, however, of a more fundamental fact. What really is happening to the cities is congestion. More people are pouring into our great centres of mercantile and industrial life than can be taken care of. Buildings are being thrust up into the air, suburbs are being pushed out into the country, subways are being driven in the earth, but still the problem remains unsolved. A traffic expert in New York recently pointed out that the construction of new transportation facilities only served to make a bad situation worse. Everybody is crying "more subways"; but the more subways we build, says this expert, the more crowded they become. An authority on city planning recently described the condition in our American cities to-day as one of "gradual congealing." Every year, he declared, we have to walk a little slower on the sidewalks, drive our automobiles a little slower in the streets. The process is like that of a freezing river—little by little water is turning into ice, until what was once a swiftly flowing stream has become an immobile solid. The comparison is of course imperfect, but it pictures the "congealing" of our city life all the same. What we are coming to, no man can say. But that the urbanization process can go on during the next quarter of a century as it has during the last quarter, is unimaginable. Our cities are fast reaching their saturation point. A few more years of this unhealthy growth, and city-dwellers will not be able to get food enough to live. As for moving about, this will no more be possible than to move in a crowded room or a mob-packed street. Yet we still boast of the increase of population in our home town, and complain if the census reveals a check!

The abandoned countryside and the crowded city street are only two sides of a single sociological problem. If people are to be kept on the land, they must be kept out of the cities; if people are to be drained out of the cities, they must be accommodated on the land! What is now a rushing stream from country to city must be turned back, and thus a distribution effected which shall be equable. The solution of the problem

has been worked out and dramatized by Mahatma Gandhi, as great a statesman as he is a noble spiritual prophet, in his attempt to stem the invasion of India by western civilization and at the same time restore and glorify the native culture of his country. What he seeks to do, as we know, is to close the factory and put the machine in the home. In the still simple life of the far East, this means the spinning wheel in the village-home or isolated farm-house in place of the great loom in the city factory. The Indian worker can thus be farmer and spinner at the same time—and in the same place, *on the land!* We see this policy of *Khaddar* only as a weapon against English rule, but in and through it is this mightier purpose of social as well as political salvation. No statesman in any age ever conceived a loftier or more practicable vision, and if Gandhi can impress his idea upon his people, he will deliver them from all the ill that has engulfed our world and threatens to engulf his. For us, of course, the remedy is not so simple, or at least must take another form. The Mahatma's program is in this country the "Garden City" idea, as it has been achieved in a few model industries, and as it is being tentatively projected on a vaster scale by Henry Ford. That this is the only or the whole remedy is of course absurd, but it is the first and absolutely necessary step. Our industries have got to be taken out into the country. The factory and the farm, like righteousness and peace in the Bible, must be made to 'kiss each other." Nothing else is quite so urgent, at this moment, in domestic affairs.

Here's a new book, recently published by the Century Company, entitled "Empty Churches." This title is worth thinking about—especially as it is used by a man who is officially in charge of the division of farm population and rural life in the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture, and is therefore an expert speaking about what he *knows*. His subject, of course, is the country church. What he says about it is not new; but his testimony is valuable as being based on exact and exhaustive information, and as showing that there has been no improvement in the situation since the cry of alarm was first lifted some twenty years ago. There are more than 15,000,000 children on the farms of this country, says Dr. Charles J. Galpin, the author of this book, and of these more than one-fourth are virtual pagans, since they are being reared in Godless communities. Two sharply contrasted conditions face the rural sections of the nation. On the one hand, there are communities which have all too few churches, or no churches at all. On the other hand, there are communities which are "over-churched," which have too many churches because competing denominations insist on maintaining separate church organizations. In both cases, ironically enough, for reasons which must be more fundamental than that merely of distribution, the churches are *"empty"!* Dr. Galpin has straight things to say to the denominations; and he is frank in his denunciation of religions which emphasize theology and neglect community service. His remedy, inevitably, is the new type of organization and work which is now being furthered in many parts of the country by the community church movement. Dr. Galpin speaks eloquently of what community churches are doing in the way of serving successfully the intellectual, spiritual and social needs of the countryside. By such a book as this, certain things are made plain. One is the consummate folly of saying that churches are prospering in this country. Another is the wisdom of recognizing that the community church, when true to type, is the solution of many of our ills. It is the one way out!

Whenever we get discouraged about church conditions in this country, we turn to Europe. There we find a basis of comparison which presents religion in America as one of the livest things ever known. For in Europe, west of Poland at least, religion is as dead as anything can be and endure at all. Christianity, in other words, is in precisely the situation there that the worship of Jupiter was in the early days of the Roman Empire. Outside of certain scattered areas of ignorance, superstition and fashion, nobody pays any attention to the organized worship of the Christ, and its churches and cathedrals stand only as the neglected monuments of a faith that is gone. Here, for example, is a quotation from a private letter recently received from intelligent friends who have been traveling widely during the past six months in Egypt, Greece, Italy, Austria, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark, Norway and Sweden:

> Speaking of churches, we took a peep in the *big* church of Copenhagen, the church the King attends. There were between 50 and 60 people present at the Sunday morning service. This will seem all the more awful when I tell you that this city is constantly filled with visitors, and Sunday morning is the only time one can go into the European churches without paying a fee. *A propos* of this general condition I must tell you of a remark that J— made. We were talking of the "has-been" appearance of all the churches we have seen everywhere, when J— said, "It seems the only living things about the churches are the pigeons that roost in the eaves."

This is an accurate picture, as any traveler in Europe can testify. We remember the Sunday morning service we attended at Notre Dame, Paris, with less than 50 persons in attendance. Why talk about Christianity as a living faith in the face of such reality? As compared with these conditions, of course, our American churches seem amazingly prosperous. But they are stricken by the same disease, and are destined to the same end. Christianity, as the world has known it, is dead. A new and greater religion is on the way.

Casting Out Fear

The curse of the human race throughout the Ages has been fear. It haunted primitive men in their dreary caves. It still rides, like the Old-Man-of-the-Sea, on the backs of men and women.

Vast regions of possible experience were filled with strange horrors. The forest, the night, the sea, the sky were all sources of terror to the ancient peoples. We have destroyed forests, illumined the night, sailed the seas, and even conquered the sky, but fear remains. It haunts millions as it did in the days of old.

The Herculean task of casting out fear still remains. All our increase of knowledge, all our varied and meticulous information seems to have disturbed the gigantic foe of man not a whit. We have escaped some fears, it is true, but others have bobbed up in their places.

If we no longer fear the denizens of the sky and the forest, we fear the peoples of unknown and distant lands. We fear our neighbors, the people who are not our class or our set. The Bolsheviks take the place of the demons. The Reds are the new devils. If we do not fear for our own future we fear for the future of the race. It is not God we fear, it is bad protoplasm. Once the angry God threatened us and we cowered under his flashing eye. Now we tremble before the Red, Yellow, and Black peoples who threaten to overwhelm us.

I suppose that thousands tremble when the name of Roger Baldwin is mentioned and thousands more when free speech is demanded.

Knowledge! Yes, we have knowledge and knowledge a plenty and yet any morning the head lines of the newspapers may throw millions in paroxysm of fear over the danger of an invasion by the Japanese, from their little over-crowded island kingdom, across five thousand miles of sea.

A half dozen, more or less, Japanese fishermen living on a shallow bay in the Californian Gulf were enough to frighten the Senate of the United States into a frantic pronouncement of the intention of the people of this country to use all its mighty power to protect itself against this new terror.

We have guns, battleships, airplanes, poison gas. We are armed to the limit. Yet we find no surcease from fear. We are relatively stronger than we ever were. The nations of Europe have bled themselves white and yet we must have R. O. T. C. training camps, more battleships, more guns, and a larger army. The very mention of the word pacifist throws our stoutest hearted militarists into a frenzy.

What a spectacle for the gods! A few, pitiably few, pacifists, without guns or poison gas, just armed with an idea, making those that sit in the seats of the mighty scream and howl like savages seeking to cure an eclipse of the sun.

It is purposed to close some of our perfectly obsolete and utterly useless naval stations. The Mayor of Boston shrieks in horror, "It is the pacifists. Who knows but what these fearful creatures may be next accused of assailing the sacred cod."

There is the fear of the Negro, the Jew, the Catholic and the foreigner,—that's a generous classification, here in America. It is real enough for some men to turn it into dollars through the alchemy of hate.

No, we have not escaped fear with all our knowledge. It still is with us. We are afraid of the dark, and the bogey man we call the Bolshevik and when the word peace can call forth such a torrent of violent words of denunciation from those who by their very calling are supposed to be the bravest of the brave, we cannot say that we have attained a real sense of security. The truth is that we are even afraid to try the simple teaching of the apostle. "Perfect love casteth out fear." Love, why that is the most dangerous doctrine of all. We are brave, loyally upstanding folk. At least we say we are. And yet we fear to try the only principle that has worked in the experience of the race.

It is love that breaks barriers between peoples and nations, between classes and castes. The world armed to the teeth stands trembling in an agony of fear. Armies, ships and guns a plenty, but there is no abatement of fear. It just does not work that way. The greater the armament, the greater the fear. And the man who is in a state of fear is in a dangerous condition. Fear blots out reason. It paralyzes judgment and deadens perception. Robbed of his powers as a thinking being man succumbs to his fears. He no longer is a sane reasoning person, but only a panic-stricken animal. If a few did not by some miracle escape the soul-destroying influence of these fears the race would be doomed. Again we say, that the apostle's word must be our word—It is perfect love that casteth out fear.

So long as we point a bayonet at our neighbor we will be afraid of the bayonet that he will point at us. In this condition neither of us can think or reason. We cannot act as men. Drop the guns and we lose something it is true. We lose our fear. We can then and then only begin to think and reason and act like men.

We can, it is true, arm ourselves until we create enough fear to blot out all semblance of humanity in us. The logical end of this sort of thing is suicide. For fear means hate and hate is the poison that destroys all things it touches. There is no poison gas that is in

a class with it. It is love, good will, that banishes not only fear but also hate.

What will save the great business enterprises in China today! Certainly it is not guns nor battleships. Every additional bit of armament will only blind the eyes of the Western business man in China to the only way out for him and the Chinese. Justice, kindliness, and appreciation of the worth of the Chinese people will bring peace and order. Nothing else will. We might as well face the fact now. We certainly must do it some time. The way of progress is the way of good will. This is not just pacifist nonsense. It is not a mere platitude any more than the law of gravitation is a platitude. If we defy the laws of nature we suffer and the law of good will is a fundamental law of the universe.

A few years ago the Street Railway System of Philadelphia was a bankrupt institution. The marvelous success of the present manager, Mr. Mitten, in restoring the system of financial and economic health has been thought by some to be one of the wonders of the time. A Boston newspaper apparently contrasting the Boston transportation system with that of Philadelphia sent a trained reporter to investigate. He reports that all that has been said of the Mitten plan which has worked so marvelously well is true. But what is the secret. Mr. Mitten substituted good will or co-operation for fear. That is the kernel of the whole business and it worked.

Every big business firm has a strike clause in its contracts. They all fear strikes. No, not all, a few have formed a better way. Recently the successful organization of the Republic Steel Company was reported in the press. Again what was the secret of the plan which has freed this great company from the fear of strikes. It is the introduction of good will which has resulted in understanding and co-operation.

If we had a dozen naval stations on the Great Lakes and parts all along the northern border of our country and then if our Canadian brethren had the same equipment, everyone knows that there would be fear, a constant fear, of an outbreak which would lead to war. But good will and co-operation have left us defenseless against Canada and Canada against us and fear has vanished.

But are you willing to carry this doctrine to the logical end? What about lightning, earthquakes, and pestilence. The only answer is that "perfect love casteth out fear." This is not nonsense, it is science. It is man's great job to conquer the earth and make it a fit dwelling place for the children of men. So long as we are obsessed by fear of one another, we are diverted from this task. It is only by co-operation that increase of knowledge is secured. Men who are co-operating in the work of the world labor together in love for that increase of wisdom which in the end shall banish pestilence from the earth. The scientist plans to free the earth from the scourges of malaria and yellow fever. He seeks to learn to build so that man will not fear earthquakes or cyclones. Nothing less than the domination of the earth is his goal. This end will be achieved when we turn the energies of men and women into one great co-operative effort. "Together," said Edward Everett Hale, is the word of the future. Together means co-operation, good will, love which casteth out fear.

ARTHUR L. WEATHERLY.

Jottings

A newspaper account of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, recently assembled at Washington, states that it held no meetings from 1914 to 1920. Like other peace organizations, in other words, it went out of business when it was needed most and could work most effectively! These peace-time pacifists are first cousins to fair-weather Christians.

It's a melancholy thing to read of the Methodists of Boston buying of the Unitarians the abandoned "Edward Everett Hale Church." If the Methodists can use this church effectively for religious purposes, why not the Unitarians?

The other day we stood in front of a moving-picture theatre, and saw five posters advertising as many plays. Three of these five posters represented a young and handsome hero giving a knock-out blow with his fist to another man. One bore the label, "A matter of honor," another, "No man could say that to him, and live"; the third was without a label. Thus do we educate our boys and girls in the ways of gentleness and peace! What are the churches and the schools doing, what can they do, to inculcate higher ideals than these principles of revenge and violence taught daily by the "movies"?

And there is another and more serious aspect to the problem presented in the above paragraph. We refer to the question of war, so deeply rooted in the passions of the human heart. Every war is presented to the people at the moment of crisis as a matter of national "honor." How can we hope to get rid of such wars, when "honor" of this barbaric "movie" type is constantly presented to the people as the very acme of virtue?

There were four times as many people in the United States in 1923 as there were in 1850, but the number of live stock had not even doubled. In 1850 there were 134 hogs for every 100 of population, but in 1923 there

were only 58. In the first decade of the present century the population increased 21 per cent, and the crop area less than 10 per cent. The rise in the cost of living is not all a matter of profiteering!

It is a curious commentary on religion in modern times that such power of persecution as remains in the hands of government is directed not against religions but against *political* offenders. It was heretics who were feared yesterday; it is revolutionists who are feared today.

J. H. H.

Why Are the Chinese Indignant?

(From Our Editorial Representative in China)

That the whole Chinese nation has been aroused as one man to a high state of excitement and indignation must be acknowledged by every observer. Personally, in the forty and more years that I have been in China I have never seen such a nation-wide movement. The Boxer uprising from 1898 to 1900 was much more restricted, though the sweep of its power was fatal to Chinese and foreigner alike.

This means a spirit of nationalism, not only more wide-spread but more intense and gripping than has ever been thought possible for an Oriental people like the Chinese. Whether this nationalism is good or bad will somewhat depend on one's point of view as to the growing nationalistic spirit of nations in the Western World. In any case this is the new condition of things existing in China, the new psychology, which calls for a new attitude on the part of foreigners in their dealings with China.

Along with this new nationalistic spirit of the Chinese people there has arisen a new racial spirit, a pride of race, a kind of racial autonomy which resents the self-declared superiority, the contemptuousness and domination of the world-wide enthroned white race. This racial aspect of the new temper of mind among the Chinese presents something for consideration much more serious for the peace of the world and the fraternity of mankind than the sudden outburst of Chinese nationalism. What makes the racial quality so astonishing is that it is a unity of the five races, which together make up the Chinese nation but which heretofore have possessed no coherence.

This ebullition of nationalism and racialism among the Chinese, whether for weal or for woe, has all come since May 30th, 1925. It had its rise in the International Settlement of Shanghai, a model of municipal administration for the less developed and less prosperous communities holding allegiance to the Chinese Government, however frequent and varied its changes.

What makes this new spirit of the Chinese people most foreboding is its manifestation of wrath, of resentment, of indignation. These phases of passion have been partly counterbalanced by other aspects of passion on the part of some foreigners which, to say the least, are aggravating to the Chinese and cannot bring about friendly relations on the basis of equality and mutual esteem.

Eliminating for the moment the personal element (which in the long run cannot be eliminated), that which aroused China's indignation, or rather that which revived it, was the *Shooting affair* of May 30th. Outside of the question as to the persons who directly or indirectly were guilty, or the degree of their guilt, or even the question as to what actually occurred, a question on which a joint commission should have acted, there remains the fact beyond dispute that on May 30th four Chinese were shot dead within the limits of the International Settlement, and that several others (I believe nine) died from the effects of wounds received.

It is this incident, this affair, this case, this act that has stirred the indignation of the whole of China.

This is the incident which has caused many foreigners, who sympathize with the Chinese in their misfortunes, to express at this time their regret at the occurrence. And surely it is most regrettable. To say less would stultify every Christian missionary in China. To show no sympathy would belie all professions of friendship. In thus acting no foreigner is prejudging the case or displaying sentimental prejudice. If Chinese are to show sympathy and express regrets when foreigners have been killed under Chinese rule, surely foreigners may act in the same way when Chinese have been killed under foreign rule. Under existing conditions throughout the world any agitation against the incident taken by itself could very easily have led to confusion, war and hatred more disastrous than the assassination of the Hapsburg Heir-Apparent in 1914.

But the agitation has not been limited to the incident. Other factors connected with the incident have still more intensified Chinese indignation and even feelings of enmity and revenge. Those may be noted as follows:—

(1) The fact that the one who ordered the shooting was British and that he belonged to a Police Force directed by British has very naturally directed the animosity to the particular country of Great Britain and to the particular people, the British. Every unpleasant or unsavory incident in the past relations of Great Britain with Chinese has been seized upon in this new propaganda to show how reprehensible the British have been and always will be. Innocent, honorable, fair-minded and kind British subjects have had to bear the blame of others, just as every German and even German-American (to say nothing of pro-German-American) was anathematized along with the Imperial German Government. For failing to discriminate or to be more moderate is indeed a Chinese blemish at the present time, but a blemish attached also to other people and other forms of propaganda.

(2) The fact that where the shooting took place was the International Settlement of Shanghai with Americans and Japanese joined with the British in the Municipal Council has helped to make the agitation anti-foreign. That a foreigner shot the Chinese is that which riles. Were it not for the tactical expediency of making an enemy of only one country at one time, all countries would now come under the ire of the Chinese people as during the fanatical craze of 1900. It is this anti-foreign tendency that is so full of danger and that calls for speedy action lest the torrent sweep on to wider and wider destruction.

(3) The fact that the first trouble arose in a Japanese mill has directed some of the enmity to Japan.

For the sake of good tactics some Chinese have tried to win over the Japanese and so work out a first-class racial war against the dominating and aggressive white race of which the British are chief. Others have seen how much stronger would be their campaign, if anti-Japanese sentiment could be aroused along with the anti-British.

(4) The fact that the persons shot were Chinese students and not armed bandits or robbers, has also fired the nation and especially the student class. These students who agitate may be very annoying or even foolish, but they must be reckoned with, and might as well be properly used, if real reform is to take place in China.

(5) The fact that the demonstration of the students was for a righteous cause has seemed to the Chinese good reason for more considerate treatment and less rigid regulation than the violent method pursued on May 30th. All this has helped to fan the flames against foreign jurisdiction and unequal treaties.

On these five aspects the Chinese may think differently and even disagree very sharply but on the one central incident of the shooting all Chinese are united in condemning.

How the whole complex problem is to be settled has been discussed by others. What I here have tried to make clear is the reason for China's indignation. Dangers that are feared may be averted and agitation cease, but no one need be deceived: if the Shanghai incident is not settled justly, greater danger and conflict will arise in the future.

GILBERT REID.

International Institute of China.

War and the Medical Profession

An idea that has caused me much speculation for many years, and especially during the last few, is why doctors in every land are not banded together in societies pledged to the work of preventing or eliminating war. Why have they not written and lectured and spoken against it and been among the foremost to advocate peace? No one knows better than they the indescribable suffering both physical and mental endured by wounded soldiers. They note the anguish and despair of the crippled and blinded, the crazed brains of those who lost their poise through the horrors of battle, and they know what a vast number of the nation's strongest and best have been sacrificed and *all to no purpose!* One of the outstanding books against war of the early part of this century is "The Blood of the Nation," yet this was written by the President of a great college, not by a physician in the practice of medicine. Have members of the medical profession given the world a large amount of notable literature of that character? What does it all mean but that physicians are not awake and alive to their responsibilities? Considering the subject merely from a humanitarian viewpoint it would seem that culpable negligence is the mildest verdict merited by them; and in addition the scientific aspect demands study with an insistence that refuses to be put aside.

The training for the medical profession should give its students a broad and liberal comprehension of human life in its relations to immediate environment, society and race welfare. Does it? And to instruct the people as to their responsibilities toward themselves, to lead and guide them toward improved living in every possible way, to strive for the prevention of sickness and suffering ought to rank as primary concerns with every member of the profession. In short, the function of a doctor should be to teach the avoidance of suffering and the prolongation of life. Yet are not doctors as a class found to be as strongly affected by the traditions of former generations, as firmly "chained to the dead hands of the past," as the less educated populace when opinions on war are stated?

Let it be clearly understood that this censure is directed against the attitude of the medical fraternity toward war and that alone. It must not be thought that I do not recognize and give due credit and praise to the noble endeavors of those men who have immortalized themselves by their benefits to mankind in conquering yellow fever, typhus, cholera, the plague and other scourges. There are few things worthy to be classed upon the same plane with that heroic work. But does not the contemplation of that make it seem all the more strange and contradictory that the medical profession as a whole should lend itself without unqualified protest to the aid of the fiendish inheritance from savagery which has been of such incalculable injury to mankind? Again I insist that the protest of this profession should long ago have been raised in a united and tremendous outcry against the infernal custom whose most wide-spread personal *rewards* are the torturing and mutilating of bodies and the degrading of minds.

Another phase of the health question connected with war which it is the business of doctors to impress upon the people (rather than of the people to hold before the doctors), and to stress constantly and emphatically, is the many and often irremediable after-effects of war upon the mental condition of soldiers, not only enlisted men but officers as well. Over and again it happens that a man in the service does not lose his mind during war-time, or outright, but the scenes of indescribable horrors which he has been through are so imprinted upon his memory and his subconscious mind that slowly and stealthily his nerve is undermined and he becomes unreliable in ways that evidence themselves along many and various lines—ranging from all sorts of nervous conditions to even incurable insanity and through innumerable varieties of criminality.

Two or three years after the late war the daily papers gave news items regarding the physical examinations by army doctors of Regular Army Officers engaged in the war. The Medical Corps has announced that from these examinations held at intervals since the armistice it finds that the men show "the most clear-cut evidence of physical deterioration," due to the "strain incident to the prosecution of the world war." Some symptoms noted are, "instability of the nervous system, characterized more particularly by affection of the vaso-motor system" . . . "an unnatural tendency to worry" . . . "restlessness" . . . "increased introspection" . . . "low blood pressure and lowered resistance to all infectious diseases." The report adds, "it may well be that the

struggle left a lasting mark on thousands of men who underwent severe nerve strain."

It would be idle to deny that the conclusions announced by the Medical Corps were not already well and widely known. They did not give out information that was not previously familiar to thousands of thinking people except in regard to blood pressure. The important question is: What do the Medical Corps in the future *intend to do about it?* Are they going right on supporting war and militarism or are they going to make use of their common sense and reason and denounce in no uncertain language the barbarous custom that leaves its "lasting mark on thousands of men"? As I have previously stated, doctors know what wounded soldiers have to bear from frightful experiences and how the nervous system is strained; and it is past understanding by anyone who is guided by reason and common sense how the profession as a whole can refrain from the most forceful expressions against the curse of war, and the most widely organized efforts to banish it from the world.

It may not be out of place to allude here to an effect of the Napoleonic wars evident in the French people. Napoleon selected the tallest and strongest men for his army, thereby leaving the shorter, smaller men to become the prospective fathers of the future generation, with the result that a majority of French people are today undersized. Yet this is of slight account in comparison with the host of bodily and mental ills and weaknesses fastened upon the population of Europe now in consequence of the late war and whose far-reaching results are beyond knowledge or imagination. So eminent an authority as Prof. Harry F. Ward tells us in "The New Social Order" (published 1919),

"The social consequences of this present war have not yet been assessed nor faced. The resultant diseases may permanently impair the vitality of Europe."

Where are the doctors and what are they doing that they are not writing and speaking and devoting themselves tirelessly to the great task that lies easily within their province—that of striving to abolish war from among the nations of men and thereby eliminating a tremendous per cent of the world's ills? If it is any part of the work of physicians to deal with the specific causes of disease and endeavor to overcome these, it is certainly a primal duty for them to work unflinchingly against war till it is outlawed forever! When will they shoulder their responsibility? A noted writer has said, "War itself is a state of hysteria. It can only be waged under conditions of abnormal mental stimulus. And the reactions from this hysteria are equally abnormal." Will the doctors in all lands continue to stand passively by and let the people be subjected to hysteria and reactions from hysteria without raising their voices against this disgraceful and humiliating iniquity?

Will knowledge of the scientific facts herein noted and that are to be obtained or made more or less public from the reports of the examinations made by the Medical Corps bring about any change in the attitude of the profession against war? Will it help to make the doctors feel that any responsibility devolves on them as guardians of the health of the present generation and of that to come? Are the doctors still going to proceed as formerly and allow it to be possible without vigorous protest for millions of men to endure the wracking strain of war, and then to be loosed upon the community unstable and weak-nerved to father an unknown number of future citizens? Or would it not be wise and safe for the people in general to have the information that might lead them to object more strenuously than they do now against being forced to surrender themselves to the possible fate of being cripples, or neurasthenics or lunatics? And has not the time yet come for it to be considered right, or even expedient, for young people to know about these things—to know that tendencies to both physical and mental weaknesses may be inherited—lest they should be aroused to demand, in terms that brook no refusal, the right to transmit healthy nerves and well-poised brains to their progeny?

When we consider the vast collection of facts at the disposal of the practicing physician, pertaining not alone to the physical but fully as much to the mental and moral well-being of the individual, is there any class or body of persons who can be adjudged quite as guilty for upholding war as the medical profession —unless it be the ministers?

It was Santayana who said:

"Custom blinds persons who are not naturally speculative to the egregious character of the actual, because custom assimilates their expectations to the march of existing things and deadens their power to imagine anything different."

It may be that physicians and clergymen are no more liberally endowed with the speculative faculty than other people and that therefore their vision, like that of most persons, is limited to a world whose plan of life seems to be of the helter-skelter variety and having for its slogan: "Every one for himself and the devil take the hindmost!" Yet the plan of those two callings would seem to the layman to be intrinsically different from most, far nobler and higher than that of general commercial business where the rushing scramble for riches saps relentlessly all the finer mental qualities of those who compete for its materialistic rewards and results in moral devitalization and perversion. We should not expect this of physicians and ministers.

The statement of Santayana presents a philosophic and psychological interpretation of the attitude taken by the majority of persons toward war. It not only explains, it seems even to offer apology for that mental process which makes possible the concurrence by reasonable people in a degrading custom that has descended to us from remote eras of savagery. Yet, notwithstanding the fact that philosophy accounts for this prevailing attitude, one is involuntarily appalled at the strangeness of the anomaly—the extraordinary and astounding revelation of the mental distortion—which permits doctors, healers of sick and suffering bodies, and ministers, supposed comforters of sin-sick souls and guides to purity and righteousness, to support or condone for an instant the fiendish practice which produces in countless hordes the very things those two noble professions are striving daily and hourly to relieve and combat: victims of diseased and pain-wracked bodies and a troop of moral and spiritual delinquents who encircle the globe with their villainies.

It is as if the mind could hold two standards side by side yet embodying the extremes of opposition: one, a thing so malignant that no individual can be found bold enough to declare direct and complete approval of it (even the chiefs who direct its activities!) and whose aim is the annihilation of that very human life which the other exalts as the ideal to be striven for—a healthy and vigorous body and sound, alert mind for every being. Even philosophy cannot explain

away such glaring inconsistencies. Does lack of mental exertion due to acceptance of a prevailing custom produce actual atrophy of brain cells connected with reasoning and imaginative powers? Or are there other considerations which have so far caused doctors as a class to refrain from speaking against war and being numbered among its unyielding opponents?

So comes the final query: What will the medical profession do as a whole, or at least what individual effort will some of its prominent members make, in an endeavor to abolish war from among the nations of men and thus to evidence thoroughly scientific interest in race welfare—the true aim and object of their profession? LYDIA G. WENTWORTH.

The Story of My Mind

XXVI

An American professor of economics, lecturing some years ago in Paris, was reported to have said that none but the unsuccessful became socialists. When he afterward published his lectures this passage did not appear, evidently because the statement was too sweeping to find justification. Socialism is not the result of the failure of men and women to prosper financially, for such an assumption implies that it is individual incapacity which gives origin and motive to socialism. Rather, it is the subjection of a class which gives it significance and power. It would be truer, perhaps, to assert that it has its meaning in the subordination of all classes not included in those having the governing and the financial control of human affairs. While the proletariat suffers most from merely physical limitations, from lack of decent food, clothing, and shelter, the intellectuals suffer the most from lack of the opportunities which give success to their efforts.

Artists, poets, novelists, as well as students of human conditions, turn to socialism, not necessarily because they have individually failed, but because they find something in society as now organized which is unfriendly to the interests which are to them the commanding ones. It is generally assumed, for example, that one who writes books gets large returns for his toil, and that he must have wealth, as well as joy of his work. On the contrary, the joy is not always certain, as many a drudge who produces newspaper, magazine, and editorial matter can testify; and largely because he cannot write what he wishes to give to the public, but must toil at the dictation of those whose standards are wholly different from his own. He wishes to obey the inward voice of truth and justice, but the managers are dominated by the demand for success and profits. I cannot claim that my experiences in these directions have been large or that I have been subjected to any greater severities than may be found everywhere. If the pulpit has its limitations, under the exactions of which I chaffed perhaps too often, I have not found that they were greater than are to be observed elsewhere. Not being a popular novelist or a writer who commands public attention, I have found my share of the drudgeries and the poor financial rewards of the intellectual toiler. In all ages the hack writer has been poorly paid, and so largely is this the case, that it has become proverbial in the history of literature. On the whole, there has not been much improvement in our time, though there has come somewhat less misery and better pay to the literary toiler, especially if he has developed, as the result of his experiences, the money-getting capacity.

As an aid to the disabusing of the public with regard to the rewards of intellectual labor, I may mention some of my own experiences. In 1897 there were placed in my hands the manuscripts of John Sullivan Dwight, and from these I produced two books and four magazine articles, with the result of securing me $425 in all, the time expended being about nine months. These books were "John Sullivan Dwight: Brook-farmer, Editor, and Critic of Music," published in 1898. The other was "Early Letters of George William Curtis to John S. Dwight; Brook-Farm and Concord," published in the same year. There followed in 1902 the "History of Unitarianism in America," to the production of which I devoted two and one-half years, with a financial return of $1500. In the same year appeared "An Historical and Biographical Introduction to accompany *The Dial*," as reprinted by the Rowfant Club of Cleveland, of which 127 copies were printed and the type distributed. This work cost me six months labor, for which I received $650, a fairly decent renumeration. Then came "The Poets of Transcendentalism: An Anthology," 1903, six months work, with payment of $200. There followed bibliographies of Lowell and Emerson, each demanding more than six months of exacting toil, with payment to me for both of the sum of $300. It must be evident even to the dullest mind that this sort of payment for labor does not equal that received by the man who works on the highway, carries a hod or turns the furrow. Rebellious as I was against the conditions surrounding the occupation of the pulpit, and interested as I was in all forms of labor giving exercise to the critical faculty, I did not find these rewards tempting to the continuation of this kind of effort.

Poor as was the financial reward for this labor, it was chiefly unsatisfactory because it was mere hack work, and not at all the kind of work I wished to undertake. I was not in the least deceived as to my own capacities, and was fully aware that I had no genius, and not even a superior degree of talent. Whatever may have been my degree of intellectual capacity, I had some plans of my own, some schemes for work I regarded as important. One of these was a history of the life of the people of the United States, which should tell what the folk had been actually doing and thinking during the years of the white occupation of this portion of the American continent. This work will never be produced by me for the simple reason that I was obliged to give my time to the merest hack work I have enumerated. More important still was the History of Woman which has occupied my attention for more than thirty years. It would have been produced years ago could I have commanded the time and opportunity for its writing. In the absence of a yearly permanent income of one or two thousand dollars I have been compelled to wait on publishers who were willing to pay only the most meager sums for their drudgery. It was nothing but drudgery, and that which carried with it more than once conditions intellectually stultifying and debasing.

It was under these conditions that I began again to occupy the pulpit when I had opportunity. One or two of my friends asked me to aid them on occasions of absence, which I did as an act of friendship. When I

had done so a few times it came to me that I might as well do so regularly, since I was willing to do so occasionally. For some six years I regularly supplied small churches for six or more months each year. In two or three places I had invitations to settle, but these I declined, partly on account of the smallness of the salary, and partly because the opportunities presented were such as not to induce to such action. In all these later experiences, since the year 1900, I have found that the right of free speech in the pulpit for social convictions has not yet been won. On theological subjects I could say whatever I desired in most, if not all, pulpits; but any social theory at all wide in its departure from the usually received opinions at once met with resistance on the part of the religious societies with which I was connected. A very considerable amount of ethical and sentimental liberality is received as not dangerous and even commendable; but any outspoken criticism of existing conditions, and any really modern theories of social reconstruction, are not only not understood, but are not even tolerated.

For two Sundays I occupied a pulpit in one of the milltowns of northern New England. The subjects I chose for discourse were of an educational character, and did not call for any wide differences of opinion. On the train returning homeward on the second Sunday I gave much thought to the situation in which I was placed by occupying the pulpit of a church from which I should be at once barred out if I were to speak my whole mind on subjects which to me seemed of the utmost importance. I had reached the conclusion that I could not become the minister of a church unless I were free to utter my utmost convictions on the great economic and industrial and social problems of our day. On that train I decided that I should not again occupy any pulpit, even temporarily, where that freedom was not assured. It was apparent at once that if I adhered to that resolution I must remain outside practically all pulpits. That conclusion I accepted as the logical result of the position I had reached, and as one to which I must resolutely adhere for the sake of consistency, and for my own peace of mind.

The desire to own a home of my own, (though that ownership was in the name of my wife), imposed its own financial difficulties and limitations. It was a long struggle to reach the point where the exactions of a regular payment on the first of each month towards the house became no longer necessary. The book-making already recorded became a part of the means of meeting this demand for money with which to make these payments. The same cause gave impetus to several efforts at lecturing which I made in these years. They included three summers as a lecturer for Chautauqua assemblies in various parts of the country, the states visited being Massachusetts, New York, Maryland, Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, and Missouri. I gave two series of lectures at Chautauqua Lake, the mother of all such attempts at uniting recreation and education. The first course was on some of the great modern authors, including Tolstoy, Ibsen, Zola, and others. The second course of four lectures was entirely devoted to Tolstoy, his life and his teachings.

It did not require much observation and experience to cause me to fully realize that these summer gatherings were largely popular, devoted to amusements, and only in the most superficial sense educational. They have provided a forum for the discussion of great political problems on the part of Bryan, La Follette, and other leaders of public opinion; but in almost every other respect they have been as much an evil as a helpful influence in education because of the superficial tendencies they have brought to bear upon the intellectual life of the people in the states where they have most flourished. Some of the crudest and most pernicious teachings I have ever heard were expressed from the platforms of these summer assemblies. The successful manager has become the man who can bring the most money out of these gatherings, demanding, therefore, the most popular and the most superficial performances of every kind to meet this requirement.

I did not meet this demand, and therefore did not succeed. I was interested in subjects demanding careful consideration, which could not be handled as a means of providing humor and laughter. What I sought to do was to give the best I had in a serious and instructive manner; but the number of these assemblies where anything of the kind was in demand did not exceed a dozen, and even in these the genuine teaching purpose was not much approved, certainly not by more than one or two managers. Three summers brought me to the conclusion that the demand was not in accordance with my supply of intellectual ability, and I gladly withdrew in behalf of those who could provide what was desired.

For two or three winters I attempted to carry on something in the nature of college-extension work with lectures. This method of reaching the people I thoroughly believed in, and was anxious to aid to the best of my ability in popularizing an interest in good literature and in the most modern books. I found too little response to lead me to continue the effort. I fully realized that the cause of the failure was in myself, and in the subjects I chose for consideration, as well as in the method I followed. In this day of the popular newspaper, and of the magazine made to amuse and attract the superficial, I found very little demand for anything really serious in its nature. Perhaps most of all I lacked in that peculiar combination of gifts which makes the public speaker of any kind successful, and I was ready to recognize this limitation in my accomplishments. My gift of humor is very limited, and I have no ability for telling stories or for providing popular illustrations. I was evidently not made for providing popular lectures, and withdrew from a field where I did not belong, though entering it briefly from time to time.

These experiences are of no importance in themselves, and they are probably no indication as to what the public demands in the way of popular instruction; but they illustrate what one may meet with in the way of experience in the use of moderate intellectual abilities in the winning of money. I know very well that other men find a large hearing for their lectures, and that they have a very considerable influence in their attempts to popularize modern ideas. In the first place they have the peculiar talent which gives them success with an audience, and they are also obliged to appeal to a large amount of tradition and prejudice in order to secure a small amount of acceptance of progressive ideas.

Somewhat to my surprise I have found more readiness for modern thinking on the part of working-men and socialists than in any other classes to which I have appealed. These classes as a whole read more solid books, and are more anxious to learn, than is the case with any others. The man of business, the woman absorbed in her home interests, in club life, or in the

demands of fashion, have no time for thinking. My observation is that only a small proportion of the men who have graduated from colleges and other higher institutions of learning have much interest in the more serious and deeper problems of life, especially those of a revolutionary character. From none of these classes is much to be expected, except in connection with clubs or other superficial means of intellectual acquisition. On the other hand, many working-men are grappling seriously with the greatest questions of the day, reading the most important books in economics and science, and are wide-awake to questions of radical reform and social progress. Where the one class listens languidly or refuses to listen at all, the other is ready for solid thinking and for grappling with the greatest problems of modern life. Not all of the one class is inattentive, and not all of the other is eager, for modern thinking; but this is the general tendency one everywhere finds who comes into intimate contact with both classes. There is in this fact the greatest possible indication of what the future is to bring us in the way of the sweeping away of all classes by the growth of universal means of education.

I have not recited here the foregoing facts for the purpose of proving that I have had such experiences as would bring me into sympathy with the proletarian class because of the pressure upon me of the economic problem, but because they are a part of my life-history. To have left them out would have been to have only partially narrated my story, such as it is. They undoubtedly gave an impetus to the seeking for a solution of many facts of modern life, which I had not hitherto understood, and to which the commonly accepted opinions in politics, ethics, economics, and social theory, gave no clue. My great confidence in the idealistic theory of life kept me for many years from seeing things as they are, and the process of breaking away from it was a slow and painful one.

(*To Be Continued.*)

GEORGE WILLIS COOKE.

THE STUDY TABLE

The Great Revolutionist

Why can't we get a satisfactory book on Lenin? A complete and definitive biography must probably be postponed for many years to come, but it would seem as though a study after the pattern of Romain Rolland's "Mahatma Gandhi" might be possible. But nothing of the sort appears! Albert Rhyse William's book had vivid, first-hand pages, but it was only a fragment. Isaac Don Levine's book contained some valuable information, especially about Lenin's days of exile in western Europe, but its pretentious claims to being a biography were without foundation. Now comes Trotzky's volume,† which is quite as disappointing as its predecessors!

The book is described in the publisher's jacket as "the story of the progress of these two men (Lenin and Trotzky), from the time that they met as obscure revolutionists in a grimy part of London until they led the most extraordinary experiment of modern times." It is nothing of the sort! On the contrary, it is simply a collection of sketches dealing with certain scattered episodes or periods in Lenin's career. Thus, there is an account of the days when Trotzky met and associated with Lenin, then an exiled journalist, in London, just previous to the historic split of the Russian Socialist party in 1903 into the Mensheviki and Bolsheviki wings. Then come six exceedingly "sketchy" chapters in the early days of the Revolution—"Before October," "Brest-Litovsk," "Breaking Up the Constituent Assembly," "Forming a Government," etc. These are followed by a brilliant study of Lenin's platform manner as an orator, and a most amusing presentation of the meeting between Lenin and H. G. Wells as seen from the Russian's point of view. Then in conclusion are four speeches or reports on "Nationalism in Lenin," "Lenin Wounded," "Lenin Ill," and "Lenin Dead."

I read the book faithfully, and at the end felt only amazement that one who knew Lenin so well, and had been associated with him in such tremendous experiences, could still tell so little about him. Trotzky does not even succeed in conveying the greatness of the man. He says much about his intellectual power, his immense capacity of leadership, his supreme position as "the greatest revolutionist in history," but he seldom gives evidence of these facts and conveys no impression of their reality. Indeed, it is Trotzky rather than Lenin who bulks large in these pages; and in reading them I could understand the feeling of the Communist leaders that the author was using the great man as a means of advancing his own cause.

The book is hard reading, first because it is badly translated, and secondly because it deals with minutae of Communist controversy which are little known or understood by those outside the fold. Still, for all its inadequacies and failings, Trotzky's work cannot be ignored. Here is testimony from one of the two greatest figures in the most stupendous drama of modern times, and it must be preserved. J. H. H.

† "Lenin," by Leon Trotzky, published by Minton, Balch & Co., New York.

Take Your Choice!

Here are two books‡ about America! The one is crowded with doubts and fears, the other is all confidence and hope.

Professor McDougall is deeply worried about the future of this country. He is full of the doleful arguments of the Nordic fanatics, but goes beyond these to questions of social psychology and public policy. His fundamental contention along these latter lines is that America is not yet grown up. She is simple and childish, hence innocent of peril. The nation, he says, "has consistently displayed a naive self-righteousness, a child-like belief in the purity and nobility of all its aims and actions in relation to all other States, and a primitive uncritical conviction of its moral superiority to all other States."

Mr. Myer comes along at just the right time with his book to present a case in point. Here is all the "naive self-righteousness—childlike belief—primitive uncritical conviction of moral superiority," of which Professor McDougall speaks. Americans have been pure idealists from the beginning, according to Mr. Myer. They have conferred upon the world one ideal after another, of which the rest of mankind has been totally ignorant. Everything that they have done has been from utterly unselfish motives. This country is

‡ "The Indestructible Union," by William McDougall, published by Little Brown & Co., Boston.
"A History of American Idealism," by Gustavus Myer, published by Boni & Liveright, New York.

distinctively the country of ideals. It isn't a case of America first, and other countries second, third, etc. Rather is it a case of America existing alone, in a class by herself.

There is much in Professor McDougall's book with which we disagree. We, too, feel alarm about America, but for quite different reasons. As compared with the infantile mythology of Mr. Myer's book, however, the work of the Harvard scholar is a model of scientific precision. J. H. H.

CORRESPONDENCE

AUSTRIA'S FUTURE

Editor of UNITY:

That America is nearer to Plutocracy than Democracy; that the manifest destiny of Austria is to be re-united to Germany; that Austria has 200,000 unemployed, and that this largely is due to her territory having been reduced from 115,900 square miles to 32,000, were the principal points made by Dr. Julius Wilhelm, who spoke before members of the Eddy Seminar, in Vienna, at the Friends International Circle.

The Friends maintain pleasant and serviceable headquarters at Vienna, with an excellent reading room with international liberal periodicals, and with rooms at moderate rates for international visitors.

Dr. Wilhelm told us of the work of the Friends in support of the government's policy of building small homes for the workers, with kitchen gardens, to reduce the evils of crowded tenements, which can only be slightly alleviated by settlement work.

He showed how American wealth controls to a great extent international as well as domestic affairs.

He predicted that "like an explosion" Austria and Germany would come together some day.

"But what will the League of Nations say?" Dr. Wilhelm was asked.

"I think nothing," was the answer.

"But what will France do?" was another question.

"I think nothing," was the reply to that also, and Dr. Wilhelm declared that England would favor German and Austrian unity, that ninety per cent of the people in both countries favored it.

Such a union would be in violation of the treaty of Versailles, but Dr. Wilhelm was arguing for modification of the treaty, and spoke of the League of Nations as an insurance corporation to perpetuate the injustices of the treaty.

He showed how different was a proposal to wipe out the boundary line between people speaking the same language, and wanting it wiped out, to changing boundary lines for other aims.

Austria's unemployment situation cannot be wondered at when one considers that Vienna, formerly the center of a population of 30,000,000 has now only six million people to consume its products. With such greatly restricted home markets, and without freedom of trade, of course unemployment is inevitable.

It was signficant to find that as to war guiltiness, Dr. Wilhelm, an Austrian himself, placed Austria first among the guilty nations, and that he recognized great service had been rendered to Austria by the League of Nations in promoting conditions stabilizing Austrian currency.

Vienna, Austria. CHESTER C. PLATT.

AUSTRALIA—A HAPPY LAND

Editor of UNITY:

There is a bright and pleasing side to Australian life and I feel that you ought to hear about it. In my previous letters I have said much about this country that is not altogether pleasing and therefore it is well that I should give you the other side of the picture also.

The climate of Australia reminds one of Italy and sometimes one wonders whether the land would not prosper more if the Italians were to come in larger numbers. There is a peculiar burning quality about the Australian sunshine that scientists tell us is due to the actinic ray in these regions. Whether this peculiar quality of the sunshine affects the voice I do not know, but, whatever the cause, Australia produces an abnormal number of singers. Many musical contests are held in all the great towns and the standard attained at these contests is of a very high quality indeed. There are numerous musical societies in every Australian community and the test of admittance to these choirs and glee clubs is very stiff.

I have recently returned from a vacation in Sydney and in that city especially does one see what an outdoor people the Australians are. Sydney harbor is filled with innumerable bays and beaches that provide endless outdoor sport for the people. In spite of the fact that sharks infest the bay there is swimming going on at all the beaches. The climate is such that swimming may be enjoyed almost all the year round. Almost every Australian is a good swimmer and it is a treat to see the lithe, clean bodies of the majority of the young men and women of Australia. One wonders if it would not be possible to have open air culture of various kinds that would appeal to these Greek gods and goddesses. When that comes in Australia we may see something approximating to the perfect race. (I think I remember some of my theosophical friends saying that the next sub-race of supermen was to spring up in Australia.)

To a person coming direct from the British Isles to Australia the contrast must be far greater than to one coming from the United States and indeed in many ways Australia must appear to the Britisher, provided he can get suitable employment, a veritable paradise. In England the great majority of the houses are built in rows of ten or twenty with just a dividing wall between. Indeed, so badly are some of the houses built and so thin is the dividing wall that it is asserted that one can hear the woman next door changing her mind!

There are some houses in the big cities here that are all joined together in ugly rows but they are the exception and not the rule. In the suburbs generally each house has its own garden surrounding it and one has room to live and breathe. "Sleep-outs" are in great demand all the year round and an increasing number of people sleep all the year round in the open air.

The climate is such that vegetables can be grown all the year round and, in addition, a great variety of fruits can be cultivated in one's own back yard. It is common to see in a suburban garden such fruit as figs, oranges, lemons, passion fruit, apples, peaches, plums, etc. The palm tree is seen growing in all parts of Australia and that is an indication of the mildness of the winter. One very often meets someone from the old country asserting that nothing on earth would induce them to face the cold and damp and fog of London or Glasgow or Manchester.

The complexions of the Australians are ruddy or tanned and suggest an open-air life. One sees paint and powder on the faces of some of the women but not to anything like the same extent as one does in the United States. If my memory does not fail me I have an idea that a great number of American women think it positively indecent to expose their naked faces! There are doubtless a number of women here in Australia who have the same feeling but they are fewer in proportion. It is far more common here to see a young lady whose clean, healthy looking face proclaims that she has never clogged and ruined the skin with powder and paint.

In Sydney especially I noticed that many men habitually went without a hat both on pleasure and on business and this to me is a very good sign. It may be a very bad thing for the hatters but it is a very good thing for the hatless. Some years ago there was a man in Sydney who tried to dispense not only with a hat but with clothes as well. He would appear in the streets dressed in an attractive bathing suit. This was too much for the good people of Sydney, however, and he was promptly arrested and fined for his temerity. But still in the summer time on the beaches it is common to see men and women walking about with nothing but a thin dressing gown over their bathing suits. One may see the men in this garb drinking in the saloons and the women in the soft drink stores.

I believe that the percentage of automobiles in Australia is second only to that of America. The prices paid for cars are much higher than in the United States owing to the heavy duties and a Ford costs nearly double the amount that it does in America. Gasoline is much dearer and costs over fifty cents a gallon.

The radio is making rapid strides here and in Melbourne and Sydney especially there are excellent broadcasting companies. Several church services are broadcasted every Sunday and one of the latest to enjoy that distinction is the Australian

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE CHINESE DEMAND FOR INDEPENDENCE

Events in Shanghai Preceding Strike

Last May a Chinese workman in a Japanese mill in Shanghai was shot and killed. As a protest against the killing of this man a memorial service was planned by students and workers. It took place outside the foreign concession of Shanghai. After it was over six of the students marching home carrying banners protesting against foreign imperialism, were arrested when they reached the foreign controlled area of the city. They were sent to jail where they remained several days, denied all communication with friends on the outside. One of the boys arrested was only thirteen years old. When brought to trial on the morning of May 30th the case was remanded and bail set at one hundred dollars for each student. Since they were unable to raise the amount, they went back to prison.

The Students in Shanghai when they learned the outcome of the trial, planned a protest against what they considered an unjust decision of the foreign court. Street meetings were organized with banners and leaflets, explaining the reasons for the demonstration. Almost immediately after the speeches began the foreign police interfered, arresting the participants and taking them to the police station on Nanking Road. A crowd, estimated at about two thousand persons, gathered around the station. The police tried to push the Chinese back from the station. Some of the crowd resented this action and started forward, causing the police to retreat. The efforts of the police to dispel the crowd had continued about two hours when the British sergeant in charge of the police, ten seconds after he had given warning in English, ordered his men to shoot into the crowd to kill. Eleven students and workers were killed and many others wounded. None of the Chinese were armed and no shots were fired at the police. The crowd dispersed in one minute after the firing began.

Following these events the Chinese workers, students, and business men struck. A joint committee of the three groups including the General Chamber of Commerce, Federation of Street Unions, and Shanghai General Labor Associations was formed to draw up demands. The Municipal Council (composed entirely of foreigners) declared martial law and called upon the Consular Body for naval forces which were accordingly landed from twenty-four gunboats. The strike spread to other cities specially among the students in the foreign colleges and universities.*

* Information to this point in letter from Henry L. Kingman, American Secretary, Shanghai Y. M. C. A.

The only foreigner reported killed in any of the demonstrations was one Frenchman shot during a demonstration of students at Shameen, the foreign settlement of Canton. About fifty Chinese were killed by the foreign troops during the demonstration.

Statements of sympathy for the Chinese and indignation at the action of the foreign powers were issued by many groups including the British and Americans on the faculty of Tsing Hua College, Peking; 118 prominent foreign women residing in Peking; the faculty of Peking Union Medical College; the faculty of Yenchung College, Peking; the Christian schools in Peking; the Y. M. C. A., the Y. W. C. A., and the American Board of Peking.

Working Conditions in Chinese Mills

After the demonstrations ceased the strike of students and workers continued, especially in Shanghai the centre of the rapidly developing textile industry. The conditions in the foreign owned mills are briefly told by Mr. C. Li, the secretary of the strike committee and also of the General Labor Union in Shanghai. In an appeal to American workers he says:

"We want you to understand two points. First, we have no right to organize and to bargain collectively and no freedom of speech. Second, this is a movement to improve our conditions of labor. It is not anti-foreign or Bolshevik. It is labor for labor's sake.

"We want you to know the conditions in our shops. The working hours in mills and factories average more than twelve. The wages average about $10.00 a month. The lowest is fifteen cents and the highest $1.00 a day. (Divide this in half to make it American money). The equipment for sanitation in our factories is so poor that the death rate is correspondingly high. The workers in our mills are very roughly treated. There are frequent assaults and killings, especially in Japanese mills. The death rate from such injuries is high and therefore our feeling is bitter and intense."

The recent demonstrations of the Chinese are not however solely against intolerable working conditions, but against the domination of foreign powers in Chinese affairs—the underlying cause of discontent and revolt. The existing treaties granting special privileges to foreign powers in China were established after the Opium War of 1842. The outstanding policy then established and, apparently, the one most resented is extra-territoriality, providing for the maintenance of foreign settlements within Chinese territory under foreign jurisdiction and granting foreigners immunity from all Chinese laws. The foreign courts which try foreign offenders against the laws of their own lands are composed of the consular representatives. Chinese living or working in foreign concessions are also subject to the foreign courts. Infringements upon Chinese sovereignty include the management of customs at treaty ports by British officials at the expense of the Chinese government; the maintenance of foreign troops on Chinese soil; foreign control of tariffs and other resources; the use of foreign advisors and experts in China's administration.

Following the disturbances in Shanghai and elsewhere the Peking government addressed a communication to all the diplomatic representatives upon which no action was taken. The principal demands were:

1. Rendition of the Mixed Court to the Chinese Republic.
2. Extension of the municipal franchise to Chinese on the same terms as to foreigners.
3. Extension to all Chinese residents in the settlement the rights of liberty of speech, assembly and publication.

The Nine Power Treaties with China

Since May the international situation regarding China has changed on account of the fact that France, the last of the nine powers to act, has ratified the two treaties submitted by the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments in Washington, 1921-1922. These nine powers are the United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands and Portugal. The way is now clear for carrying out the terms of the new treaties. One of them is concerned solely with a revision of the Chinese customs and provides for a conference of the nine powers following the ratification of the treaty. The other more comprehensive treaty is a statement of principles to be followed by the powers in dealing with China. The four most important policies advocated are:

(1) To "respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."

(2) To grant "the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government."

(3) To allow equal opportunity for all nations in China's commerce and industry—otherwise the principle of the "Open Door."

(4) To pledge the signatory governments not to seek special rights and privileges for their nationals in China.

Extraterritoriality, not dealt with directly in the treaty, was acted upon in a resoluion passed by the representatives of the nine powers signing the treaties. The resolution provided for a commission "to inquire into the present practice of extraterritorial jurisdiction in China." At the request of the Chinese the appointment of this commission was delayed a year. In the two following years no commission has been appointed.

America's Responsibility

The special responsibility of the United States in the Chinese situation rests upon the fact that the Conference at which the treaties were drawn up and the resolution passed, was called by the President of the United States and the fight for the nine power treaties was led by our Secretary of State. It is now a matter of good faith for the United States to see

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Church whose choir is considered one of the best in Australia.

The feeling of a critical outsider towards the Australians is: "What a grand opportunity you have to create almost perfect social and economic conditions here and how short a distance you have gone in that direction." Everything is conducive to a happy, prosperous life. The climate is almost ideal and the necessities of life are produced with very little exertion so that there should be abundance for all and yet these conditions do not obtain. Yet I think that I see growing up in Australia a race of men and women who will be enthused with a new ideal, who will be prepared to work more for the common weal and not for self alone, and who will build the foundations of a great Commonwealth in these southern seas.

HARRY TAYLOR.

that the provisions arranged are carried out. Furthermore, the principles laid down in the general treaty represent the best tradition in American foreign policy. The Chinese undoubtedly look to us to carry out the work begun at the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments.

The situation suggests a course of action for those who sympathize with the Chinese in their struggle for independence.

1. To give as wide circulation as possible to authentic first hand information from China—through meetings, distributing leaflets, securing articles in newspapers and magazines.

2. To urge our Government in the person of President Coolidge (a) to call immediately a conference of the nine powers to discuss extraterritoriality and the principles set forth in the treaty and to recommend in the strongest terms that the Government of the United States stand for *the abolition of extraterritoriality, and the termination of other imperialistic practices;* (b) *to withdraw our gunboats and marines from China and to refuse the use of armed forces in the future.*

3. To express approval of Senator Borah's announcement to bring the Chinese question before the next session of the Senate. The Senator said in a recent speech in Idaho:

"The attitude of the foreign powers toward China is keeping that nation from progressing and maintaining order. Unless the foreign Governments conform to new conditions, respect the territorial rights of China, treat Chinese labor with justice and give the government revenue upon which she can live we are going to have a condition in the Orient which everyone who loves peace will regret."

4. To express our sympathy for the Chinese in their struggle for freedom from foreign oppression and domination and when the need arises to give them help in some concrete form.

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